## DEBATE IN THE SENATE

COLONIAATION IN NORTH AMERICA.

IN SENATE, TUESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1852. The Senate having under consideration the joint relution declaratory of the views of the United States respecting colonization on the North American continent by European Powers, and respecting the Island of Cuba, upon which Gen. Cass delivered his views, as published in this paper of Saturday-

Mr. BUTLER said: Mr. President, I do not rise to go into any general discussion of this joint resolution; I rise rather to make some explanations in regard to a doctrine which has often been brought into review before the Sewhich has often seen orought this review before the Se-nate—I mean the Monroe doctrine. Many very impor-tant doctrines have been discussed within the scope of this debate. I assure the honorable Senator from Michi-gan that I fully sympathize with him in many of his patriotic sentiments; I might concur with him in many of his abstract opinions; and I do not know that I dissent from his doctrines in the main. But he has taken a very enlarged view of very grave subjects, because I have no doubt he has deliberated upon them, and in the maturity worthy of public attention. Before I undertake to make the explanation which I have been induced to make by the suggestion of friends this morning—for I assure you I had no idea when I came into the Senate to-day of taking part in this debate, or of saying a word upon any of the subjects which might be brought into it—I must un-dertake to say that many of the subjects referred to and in fact I do not know what has not been brought forward; the whole encyclopedia of our foreign relations has been fully presented, and I have no doubt very ably presented—have nothing to do with the Monroe doctrine. That was not the way that Mr. Monroe regarded questions of this kind. He and his Cabinet were practical

statesmen—more practical than dialectic politicians.

Sir, the Monroe doctrine, as I understand it, was asserted upon a real issue—an issue involving very deeply the interest, and the honor, and the future character of American institutions. Now, allow me to present that issue as I understand it, and as it was presented in the remarks of Mr. Calhoun, to which I shall refer presently, upon this subject. As I understand, from conversations with Mr. Calhoun, and from his remarks, as well as those with Mr. Calhoun, and from his remarks, as well as those of others, the allies, after the overthrow of Bonaparte, entered into what is known as the Holy Alliance. Having combined for many objects, they felt their strength, and I have no doubt, in the arrogance of their policy, were perfectly willing to bring within the scope of it all that they could. Among other things, they were disposed to restore the Spanish dominion to the South American States. In other words, sir, offended at the spirit of propolation, and at the progress of reamphlican institutions revolution, and at the progress of republican institutions, they were disposed to crush these young republics in their growth, and to substitute in their place the doctrines of legitimacy and absolutism. Castlereagh, who represented the British Cabinet on that occasion, finding that these doctrines were not altogether agreeable to the genius or spirit or taste of even British statesmen, wrote to Mr. Canning, who was then Premier, giving him, I suppose, by a secret message, what had been proposed in this convention of the Holy Alliance. It was then that Mr. Canning wrote to the Cabinet of Mr. Monroe, and said, substantially, "We are involved in this alliance, and we want a pretext, not to retreat, but to hold ourselves aloof from a committal which may bring us into a collision with you, and which, in our opinion, is against the policy of the world. Therefore, if the United States, or the Cabinet of the United States, will take strong ground, make a strong assertion that they will not suffer Spanish dominion to be restored to these American States, we will at once say to the continental sovereigns we have nothing to do with that subject, because, although we are willing to go to some extent with you to restore the harmony and peace of Europe, we are not willing to take a step which will embroil us in a collision and war with the United States of America. That was the real occasion; that was the Monroe doc

trine. The Monroe doctrine had reference to an actual state of things, and an issue upon which the institutions and policy of the country were deeply involved. And, sir, the Monroe doctrine was asserted at the time to vindicate a principle. As I understand our ferefathers, they were a people of performance and not very long adver-tisements. And I have observed that these long advertisements are generally followed by very short performances. When there is a real issue presented, involving the United States in a war with Great Britain, any thing affecting our continent or our policy, I will say to the Senator from New Hampshire, (Mr. Hale,) and I concur with the Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass,) there is no danger in the United States backing out. I shall never fear that the spirit of the American people will quall when it becomes our policy to maintain either our honor or our interests. I have not the least idea of it. But, sir, one of the real issues, which might bring one of the most de-solating wars to both nations, would be a trespass to try title to Cuba. I may be permitted to say, that in an action of trespass to try title to Cuba—for I believe England has reduced it to that form, instead of a John Doc and think proper to be one of the parties, I will answer for it that the United States will maintain whatever declaration their interests may require them to make. I do not choose to say that we are to have Cuba either in this way I may have occasion to say something upon that subject hereafter. I do not choose to say it now. I will say, however, that I am indebted to the honorable Senator from Michigan for one suggestion; and that is, if Brother Jonathan grows as fast within the next thirty years as, according to his past history, it is to be presumed he will, I am not very much afraid of old John Bull being

much in his way in his progress westward.

No, sir; after the valley of the Mississippi shall have been filled up, and our people shall have been indurated, if I may so express it, by a mature growth—if they maintain for the nextfifty years a progress equal to that which they have made in the history of the past—do you suppose that they will give up a neighboring island, or any neighboring possession? Why, sir, all the islands in neighboring possession? Why, sir, all the islands in the Caribbean sea, if under no other influence than the attrition of opinion, cannot maintain for a very long period—I cannot say how long, for I am no prophet—their European connexion. They will become de-European-European connexion. They will become de-Europeanized. Bayonets, military guards, are very poor sentinels against the innovation of opinion. Why, sir, you might as well attempt to stop the progress of the Mississippi with a bundle of hay as to attempt to stop the progress of American opinion upon this continent. But I say, and I say it with perfect confidence, that a real issue must be presented before I determine whether I will assert the Monroe doctrine or not. I do not understand it in a general sense, as the honorable Senator from Michigan does; and Mr. Calhoun did not so understand it. I think Mr. Calhoun asserted the true Monroe doctrine, and I will take the liberty of having Mr. Calhoun's views presented, if the Clerk will read the document I send to the

Secretary's deek.
Mr. CASS. Will the honorable Senator, before it is read, permit me to make one explanation? I have sent for Mr. Rush's account of his embassy, which I have not

for Mr. Rush's account of his embassy, which I have not before me. That will explain the whole matter. The whole thing was discussed in Mr. Calhoun's day.

There are two principles, the honorable Senator will observe, which are laid down in Mr. Rush's work. Mr. Rush was invited by European statesmen to form a Congress to regulate South American matters. He declined very properly. There was then an intimation that a declaration like that about the Spanish-American celonies would be acceptable to England. But Mr. Monroe, you will observe, went much further than that. He did not stop there. You will see, by the account of Mr. Rush's there. You will see, by the account of Mr. Rush's that Mr. Monroe's doctrine, which had respect to the South American States which had assumed and maintain-South American States which had assumed and maintained their independence, was fully approved in Eugland; but they received with disapproval the doctrine that we could not allow them, or any other nation, to establish colonies upon this continent. The first was, in effect, to say, these nations are independent, and we will support them; but Mr. Monroe's doctrine went far beyond that.

It will be seen, on reference to Mr. Rush's account, that he says expressly that Mr. Cauning and the English statesmen were very much dissatisfied with the latter part of the Monroe declaration. They concurred in the first— that is, in the refusal of the United States to permit the South American States to again fall under Spanish dominion; but they were utterly opposed to the anti-colonization doctrine, which gave notice to Europe that we could not view any interposition in the affairs of this continent, for the purpose of controlling or interfering with them, in any other light "than as manifestations of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." I have not time to go through the whole matter. I have not before me the book at this moment; but the honorable Senator will ascertain, by looking at it, that there are two points in the doctrine—one in respect to the attempt apon the South American States, and the other in opposition to a colonization system on this continent by Europe. It is distinctly stated by Mr. Rush, in his account of this mission, that when the latter part of it was communicated to the British Ministry it excited great diseatisfaction. While they agreed to the one, they utterly disagreed to the other. The same with respect to Mr. Polk, in 1845. He reaffirmed the same doctrine, without any peculiar application then to the condition of South America. It was a general reaffirmation of the American doctrine. As soon as I get "Mr. Rush's residence at the Court of London," I will hand it to the Senator, and he will see the distinction expressly laid down between the two points, and to only one of which the British Government agreed.

Mr. BUTLER. Let what I have sent to the desk be world, and that without a prefatory admonition to the world of any resolution about what we would do. The SECRETARY read from the speech of Mr. Calboun,

as the honorable Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) should have made the long and able speech which he did make—to which the claim of confidence to state briefly, the question which led to the declaration. We all remember the Holy Alliance to overthrow Bonaparte. England refused to join it, although she acted with it. In the process of time the Holy Alliance to contemplated an interference with the affairs of South America, in order to restore the dominion of Spain over her revolted provinces. Our Government received an intimation from Mr. Canning, who was then at the head of the British Ministry—a mm of extraordinary sagacity and talent—stating at the same time that if the American Government would back the British Government, she would discountenance such interference. And this general declaration had reference to a specific case, and stopped there. Mr. Monroe was a wise man, and had no design of burdening the country with a task it could not perform. He knew there was a broader declaration made by the gentleman, then Secretary of State; but, as far as my knowledge extends, it was never brought forward for cabinet deliberation. It has been a long time since, and I will not positive. I have no doubt that the gentleman to whom reference has been made is entitled to the paternity. I say so, because out of this grow the Panama convention, although it was not legitimately an offspring. But if this declaration was right, the Panama convention was no bad conception, and the propriety of our sending a Minister could hardly be resisted.

Mr. BUTLER. In connexion with the same subject—

M "Tie Senater justified the course proposed by Mr. Monroe

Mr. BUTLER. In connexion with the same subject—the Yucatan question—Mr. Calhoun delivered his views, and so did the honorable Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass,) whose remarks I will refer to presently.

CASS,) whose remarks I will refer to presently.

"Mr. Calhoun rose and referred to the ground on which the message of the President of the United States had placed the proposition now before the Senate to prevent Yucatan from becoming a colony of a foreign Power, and to prevent also the devastation of the country, and the destruction of the white inhabitants. He had placed our proposed interference on the ground of Mr. Monroe's declaration. Against all these points, against the message, and the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, he had, after deep reflection, made up his mind to record his vote.

"He went on to show that the declaration of Mr. Monroe was published in opposition to the designs of the allied Pow-

"He went on to show that the declaration of Mr. Monroe was published in opposition to the designs of the allied Powers called the Holy Alliance, and contended that the case of Yucatan could not be bought within the range of that declaration. He stated what was the conduct of the Holy Alliance, and what were their designs, and the alarm taken by England at the innovating principles laid down by them. He adverted to the information given by Mr. Rush, and the manner in which the Cabinet acted on it. The schemes and the existence of the Holy Alliance had entirely disappeared; and if a final blow had been necessary, it was given by the recent revolutions in Europe. A more especial declaration with regard to Spain was then agreed on, and Yucatan cannot be comprehended in it."

I will now refer the Senator from Michigan to his own

I will now refer the Senator from Michigan to his owr remarks on the same occasion. I will not comment upon them, because I may not understand him in what he has spoken to-day. I understood him distinctly in that de-bate to concur with Mr. Calhoun. I will hand him the volume containing his remarks, without any comment

upon them. Mr. CASS. There is not one word in what I said the hat is not affirmed in what I have said to-day-not one

Mr. BUTLER. I dare say so.
Mr. CASS. I will not defy the honorable Senator, but defy the world to find one word inconsistent with what

I have said to day.

Mr. BUTLER. I made no intimation of the kind. All I said was that the honorable gentleman seemed to con-cur in Mr. Calhoun's views upon the question of colo-Mr. CASS. I have Mr. Rush's statement in full, pub

lished in his account of the mission to England. I have sent for it, and it will be here in five minutes, and will supersede all controversy. Mr. BUTLER. I understand Mr. Calhoun, who was

member of Mr. Monroe's cabinet, to lay down this distinct proposition—that Mr. Monroe did not intend in advance to say what he would do or what policy required the American Government to do upon this occasion or that occasion. Mr. Calhoun on that occasion, when the question was in reference to Yucatan, a mere transitory possession by Great Britain—a possession for a limited purpose, but one which might indicate perhaps an ultimate design of taking absolute possession of that coun-try—said that this Government would not be authorized to interfere upon that doctrine. That is what he expressly said in regard to that case.

Now, I agree with the honorable Senator from Michi-

gas, that if Great Britain, or any European Power, should make such obvious demonstration to us as to show that they were about to take possession of these islands, with they were about to take possession of these islands, with a view to arrest the progress of American institutions, or to make war upon them, that might be a practical question, upon which I would give a responsible judgment; but I am no further responsible for my judgment as a public man than I can see the real juncture of affairs upon which it may be invoked. And, as to this wide declaration of Mr. Calhoun, spoken of by Mr. Rush, which he no doubt made, he said that a much wider declaration had been proposed to the cabinet; but that Monroe, seeing it was too wide a declaration—one which to entertain—took what the honorable gentleman from Michigan and others might perhaps regard as a narrower view of the subject-a safer, and, in my epinion, a wiser one. He took the actual issue before us, and curtailed it in a way to make it practicable; and he told the European Powers that if they undertook to restore Spanish authority in America, or, as I have no doubt, if they undertook to take possession of any portion of the American continent in such way as to involve our interests and real policy. (and I take that as the true test,) it would be our duty then to prevent them. But what will be the real occasion I am not permitted to say; for I think it a very unwise way to advertise to the world what we will do on this or that occasion, when such an occasion may

Now, as to laying down general doctrines, I have no doubt they will be maintained to some extent; but how far, in making these declarations, we may not bring upon us the very evils we wish to avoid I will not undertake o say. I am not afraid, if the United States should be engaged in a war in relation to Cuba, Honduras, or any ortion of the American continent worthy of our posses sion, or any portion of the continent the possession of which would give Great Britain any undue advantage over us in case of future hostilities—I am not afraid as o the result.

But I have already gone too far upon this occasion, and have not perhaps done myself or the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Cass) justice. I intend at a future time to go more fully into these topics. All I intended to state on this occasion was, what was Mr. Calhour's opinion, on this occasion was, what was air cambuls applied and also to undertake to show that it was the opinion of distinguished statesmen at the time that the Monroe doctrine applied to a definite, certain state of things, and was not acknowledged, notwithstanding there was an effort to make it so, to be a general declaration.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, as I introduced an amend ment to this resolution, I intended at some fitting time, if it was the pleasure of the Senate to hear me, to address myself somewhat at length to the subject, and I should have waited until that fitting time—

Mr. CASS. Will the gentleman allow me to read the passage to which I alluded a few moments ago?

Mr. HALE. I have but little to say.
Mr. CASS. I will wait till you get through.

Mr. HALE. I would have waited until that fitting time had come, had not direct allusion been made to se humble an individual as myself both by the honorable Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass.) and from South Ca-

rolina, (Mr. Butler.)
On the 5th of March, 1770, several citizens of Bosto were shot down in the streets of that city by British sol were shot down in the streets of that city by British sol-diery. Of course it sent a thrill of horror and indigna-tion throughout the community, and when the fact was announced to a certain patriotic, warm-blooded, and im-pulsive old gentleman, indignation stirred his heart and mantled his countenance, and the emphatic expression which he uttered deserves to be remembered—deserves which he uttered deserves to be remembered—deserves to be painted in letters of light upon the wall of the Sen-ate chamber, in order that we may all remember it, because it seems to be a lesson that is so well practised upon now. Said the old man, "These soldiers must be talked to." That was the height to which he was worked

have a word or two to say upon this.

The honorable Senators from Michigan (Mr. Cass) and om South Carolina (Mr. BUTLER) alluded to a remark which I made the other day, that when the time came for action we should back out. Now, sir, I trust that I have as high an appreciation of American patriotism, of American bravery, and of American ability to defend their rights against Great Britain and against the world, as any Senator here. It was not in reference to any such contingency that I spoke, and whoever will read the decontingency that I space, and whoever will read the de-hates that were then taking place in the Senate will see it. It was in reference to just exactly what the honora-ble Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Berren) denomi-nated these long advertisements; and I believe it will be universally found to be the case, that the men who deal most in them deal least in action. But, sir, I have not a doubt, and never had, that on any occasion that affected the interest and honor of this country, where American Then, once more, in reference to the islands the pride, American feeling, and American patriotism were togethed, this country might bid proud defiance to the which commands the month of the Oregon river.

Now, I regret that so distinguished a parliamentarian as the honorable Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) should have made the long and able speech which he did make—to which I listened with so much pleasure—withmake—10 km at the material and the conting to the real question which was pending before the Senate. The question which was uncomed by the Chair I understood to be upon the amendment was not whether we should tell Spain that she should not sell it. Why, Spain has told us that she will not sell it. Why, Spain has told us that she will not," and what good will it do for us to say "you shall not," when Spain says she "will not," and when she has given the best evidence that she is sincere in that determination, in the fact that she has refused a pretty liberal price which we offered her of it? And I think in that she will not sell it. You have offered her a hundred millions of dollars, and she says she will not take it; and now and propose to fortify your position by announcing to the set of the same and the Gulf of prosperity of the chair that the course of navigation, in the fact that she has refused a pretty liberal price which we offered her a hundred millions of dollars, and she says she will not take it; and now and propose to fortify your position by announcing to the world has ever untrances for that experiment which the world has ever the position in which we are in an iterated senting that the course of navigation, in the fact that she has refused a pretty liberal price which we offered her of it? And I think in that she will not sell it. You have offered her a hundred millions of the Bahama shallons. I understand from those gentlemen who are conversant which the world has ever a sent marked one; but it is an epoch which we are in an "epoch which we are in an "epoch will not take it; and now any part of them. But 1 speriment which we are in an "epoch which we are in the fortification, in the fact t

and navigation that comes into the Gulf of Mexico, and seeks the mouth of the Mississippi river. Well, sir, I suppose the people of this country are not so low, their patriotism is not of that doubtful character, nor their bravery of that spurious kind, that they will take a position before a weak nation that they will not assume before a strong one. I use the world weak and strong in a fore a strong one. I use the words weak and strong in a comparative sense, because I look upon Great Britain as much stronger nation than Spain. Now, I ask if the States, ocal position of Canada, in any aspect in which you may Itis riew it, either in relation to the interest of peace or war, view it, either in relation to the interest of peace of war, is not of a thousand-fold more consequence than Cuba? Why, sir, during the exciting political canvass of 1848— I am speaking historically now—the caudidate of the great Democratic party of the nation, which has now swept the country, did not go to bed a single night when he was not within the reach of a British shell that neight have been fired into his dwelling from a British mortar. Laughter. ]

Mr. CASS. I slept very comfortably, though. [Laughter.]
Mr. HALE. He slept very comfortably; for I suppose

he had two consoling reflections.

Mr. CASS. No danger.

Mr. HALE. One was that he was safe for election: and the other that he was safe from British bombs. [Laughter.] With these convictions, I do not wonder he

dept well.

Well, sir, Canada and the British possessions in the North extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. They border on our inland lakes, and the commerce that inds its way to the Atlantic coast over these lakes, and through the New York canals, taking the whole of it, will be found, I think, equal to at least half of all our foreign

Mr. SEWARD and others. More than all. Mr. HALE. More than all, I am told by several Senators around me. The commerce of these lakes and these canals—the internal commerce that is carried on side by

Mr. MANGUM. It is a great mistake.

Mr. HAME. While, therefore, we are looking with such anxious eyes at Cuba; while we are speculating upon possible and remote contingencies of how that portion of our commerce is to be affected which finds its way to the Gulf of Mexico and the mouth of the Mississippi river-I say, while we are looking at these possible and remote contingencies in relation to the island of Cuba, I ask those gentlemen who live on the Northern coast—those gentlemen who are liable to be waked up in the night by the sound of British cannon on British shores—if it is not orth while for us to turn our attention to our Northern borders to see how the naval and military resources of anada, in case we have a collision with the British Govrnment, may affect the position and the safety and prosperity of that vast community which borders those lakes and those waters which lie between us and Canada? Is it not as well to intimate to Great Britain that she shall not sell Canada? She may say she has no idea of it. I do not know that. She has never been offered a hundred millions of dollars for it; and it will be time enough, I think, to sit down in safety and security under the im-pression that Great Britain will upon no consideration part with Canada, when she has refused a hundred mil-

and all those States—and Michigan, yes, I liked to have forgotten Michigan, [laughter]—I appeal to the citizens of all those States, and ask them if it is not worth while to turn a little of that watchful vigilance that has been so freely extended southward towards the north? Why, sir, the honorable Schator from Michigan is in favor of extension and annexation. So am I. But, sir, I am in avor of having a little extension northward.

Mr. CASS. I, too. Mr. HALE. It is a very remarkable fact in our history, Mr. President, that whenever we have made a treaty that related to our Northern boundaries, we have always out off, and when we have negotiated a treaty relative to our Southern boundaries we have taken on. Now, that may be accidental; probably it is entirely so. [Laughter.] But, sir, there is one thing that must be said of it, it is a remarkable coincidence, very. [Laughter.] But let me come to this Monroe doctrine. It is a good

Mr. CASS. Will the honorable Senator just allow me read a paragraph from Mr. Rush, as I have the book

Mr. HALE. Certainly.
Mr. CASS. I beg the attention of the honorable Senaor from South Carolina (Mr. Butlen) to it.

"But, although no joint movement took place, my des "But, although no joint movement took place, my despatches had distinctly put before our Government the intentions of England; with which, in the main, our policy harmonized; and President Monroe, in his opening message to Congress, which followed almost immediately afterwards, in December, 1823, put forth the two following declarations:

"I. That it was impossible for the allied Powers to extend their political system to any part of America without endangering our peace and happiness; and 'equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition with indifference.'

" '2. Whilst alluding to discussions between the United "12. Whilst alluding to discussions between the United States and Russia, then commenced with a view to arranging the respective claims of the two nations on the northwest const of America, the Precident also declared that the occasion had been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the right and interests of the United States were involved, that the American continent, by the free and independent condition which they had assumed and maintained, were henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power."

"The first of these declarations was probably expected by England, and was well received. Every body saw at once that it referred to the hostile plans of the allied Powers against the late Spanish provinces.

the late Spanish provinces.
"The second declaration was unexpected and not acquies-

red in, as accounts I am yet to give of negotiations with the British Government will make known."

Mr. HALE. I was saying that it was a remarkable fact in regard to all our negotiations concerning territo-ries, that whenever they related to Northern territory we gave up, and to Southern territory we took. And I will make another remark in reference to those who are so continually looking at the military aspects of these things. Sir, what did you sell out part of the State of Maine for? What did Great Britain want of it? She did not want to colonize it. She only wanted a military road—only wanted the means of annoying this country in time of war, whenever there was a conflict between the two nations; and we, in the exercise of that Christian meckness, I suppose, which becomes a Christian people, sold out our own territory on this side of the St. Lawrence, to which every department of this Government was pledged to maintain that it was ours, and which was so palpably ours that we could not negotiate it away—sold it to Great Britain, talked to." That was the height to which he was worked up when American citizens were slaughtered by British troops in the streets of Boston—"These soldiers must be talked to." Well, sir, they were talked to; but it did not amount to any thing. I think that is one of our easily besetting sins—talking, everlasting talking. Talking, sir, might do some good if, when the occasion indicated by the talk comes, we lived up to our words. I have a word or two to say upon this.

good one.

But that is not the whole history of this North. The North is a large country, Mr. President; although it does not make much noise on this floor, it is a large country. But how was it on the Oregon question? Our title to that But how was it on the Oregon question? Our title to that territory, I suppose trobody will deny, unless he means to deny the Polk and Monroe doctrine. Our title to that was clear and indisputable. Well, what did we do? We gave Great Britain three hundred—thousand square miles of our indisputable territory for the very purpose of colonization. Now, according to the doctrines we have had proclaimed this morning, if Mexico, or any other country on earth that has possessions on this continent, had undertaken to sell 300,000 square miles of territory, it would have been a sause of war on the part of the United States against the country that bought it. But, sir, we did not sell it: we are clear of that—we only gave it to Great Britain. Then, once more, in reference to the islands that lie off the coast—we just gav. Great Britain Vancouver's island,

side with Great Britain, liable to be interrupted, liable to be destroyed at any moment—exceeds, I am told by Senators to whose superior wisdom I always bow with great deference, all the foreign commerce of this country.

Mr. MANGUM. It is a great mistake.

Well, sir, that is just the way with this country; and that I look upon as the destiny of this country; and that I look upon as the destiny of this country. We are to see that it is true to its principles, and true to the purposes of a beneficent Proviction. Yesterday, when the honorable led away and dazzled by the halo of military renown, if our judgments are warped by the graspings of a covet-anxious to say a few words upon an branch of the subone will make bout as much impression as the other.

The honorate Senator from Michigan has found food for his remark in some comments which he has seen in accused of vaticinating, of prophesying; but it needs no in his remarks. I desired to do so yesterday, in order

where there wal so many persons, unfortunately, who evinced a want of patriotism.

Mr. HALE. There was no country on the face of the globe where their were so many people that evinced a want of patriotism as this country. I confess I do not see the difference; but the honorable Senator does, and therefore I will give him the full credit of it. But I think, in cooler moments when the impulses of warm blood have subsided, and the reflection of maturity comes to that Senator, he will regret that remark [laughter] because

peace and go out and render themselves, it may be, victums for their country's good—whenever the defence of their frecides and their homes shall call forth the truehearted and brave who are ready to do and to die in their country's behalf—my word for it you will not always find any and all the Powers of the earth? I believe not, sir.

old Thirteen, New Hampshire is the only State whose soil was never impressed by the footsteps of the enemy; and that, sir, although she extends from the Atlantic occan to Canada. It may be that the country was too poor to defend itself. [Laughter.] I will not say that it was not, but I claim the fact of history. Let it go for what it is worth. I think, considering the character of the soil and the people, those who would undertake to invade it would find it a bad bargain.

I have one single word more to say—and when I use the term "word" I use it in the Pickwickian sense—[laughter]—in the sense in which it is used in the Senate, giving to it the meaning which I believe a distinguished friend of ours, now no longer in this body—a Senator from Missinspipi, (Mr. Foote)—gave to the word. I have a word to say about the destiny of the country, about which so much has been raid. The honorable Senator from Michigan qualifies it, and says he will not speak of manifest destiny, but he says he don't want to circums scribe it. We want room; there is hardly room enough for us; the country is too narrow. With the Atlantic on one side, and the Paclific on the other, and the Gulf of Mexico for a wash-hasin, the domain is rather circumscribed for such a progressive people as we are. Sir, I dissent from that sentiment. I do not think that our progress should be in getting more territory, until we give to those of them who are homeless homes from the vast and immense territory which we now possess. And we don't want any more territory. Our business and our mission are at home. It is to improve upon our advantager; it is to advance; it is to elevate and ameliorate the condition of mankind; it is to show the deepots of the Old World, by the practical results which are to follow from the experiment which we are making, that the institutions

That is the history of the negotiations of this country, so far as the North is concerned, in reference to territory; sion of information, and by all the means which our abundant leaves of the North and the representatives of the North, that your commerce lies infinitely more at the mercy of Great B itain to-day than it would if Great Britain owned every one of the West great purposes of the Creator may be understood in the eraction of man and placing him on this globe to werk out the great experiment of homan probation, here are controlled in the great experiment of homan probation, here are controlled in the great experiment of homan probation, here are controlled in the great experiment of homan probation, here are controlled in the great experiment of homan probation, here are controlled in the great experiment of homan probation, here are controlled in the great experiment of homan probation, here are controlled in the great experiment of homan probation, here are controlled in the great experiment of homan probation, here are controlled in the great experiment of homan probation, here are controlled in the window of the Senate thinks that it is meet proper that the resolution should be served upon all mankind, I will not be understood in the creation of man and placing him on this globe to werk out the great experiment of homan probation, here are controlled in the window of the Senate thinks that it is meet proper that the resolution should be then passed, and it will be great experiment which the world has ever to outlawed, and that we shall not be understood in the creation of man and placing him on this globe to werk out the great purposes of the Creator may be understood in the and if the wisdom of the Senate thinks that it is meet proper that the resolution should be then passed, and it was a proper that the resolution should be then passed, and that we shall not be understood in the creation of man and placing him on this globe to werk out and if the wisdom of the Senate thinks that it is meet to t

Mr. HALE. And Jamaica? Imagination can hardly conceive what this country would be—what an area of internal improvements, of progress, and of prosperity would open upon this continent—if the Canadas bordering the lakes upon the north were united to this country. Why, sir, it would lessen the necessities of your preparation for war one-half if those lakes and that country belonged to us instead of belonging to Great Britain. And why not make some timely effort? Why not utter some word of warning? Why not give some notice in regard to that country, where we have a real and a vital interest, and where the danger is not remote and contingent, but where the danger is not remote and contingent, but where it is close at hand, and where we have felt it once in a war with Great Britain. We have felt something of the avils of the contiguity of Canada to the United made to govern themselves—to submit themselves to the states. States. It is not the contiguity of Canada to the United made to govern themselves—to submit themselves to the States. It is not the view that I want to call the attention of the Senate and the country and the people to our relations. Senate and the country and the people to our relations of the their own consent—we may imagine the genius of Liberty pleading before the theory of Canada to the United made to govern themselves—to submit themselves to the Government. At first, as I understand Mr. Rush's book, propositions had been made, which he transmitted to the Government, or on his own responsibility he had refused

It is n this view that I want to call the attention of the Senate and the country and the people to our relations with the content why are we going abroad—why are we going off the continut—why are we going abroad—why are we go we go we are we go we go we are to the sale with a subject to the suspicion of the going abroad—why are we go we go we are to try, and that is the experiment which we are to try, and that is the experiment which we are to try, and that is the experiment which we are to try, and that is the experiment which we are to try, and that is the experiment which

for his remark in some comments which he has seen in a Buffalo newspaper. I don't read newspapers, sir, and that is the reason why I don't make so many of these visionary speedes as a great many people do. [Laughter.] That is the reason, too, why my remarks are always so practical. [Laughter.]

Mr. CASS. Oh, wad ye would no farther go."

Mr. HALE. But there was one remark which fell from him that pained me. —All the rest I was gratified at. He says there is napeople on the globe that evinces such a wat of patriottm as this people.

Mr. CASS. I beg parlon; I said there was no country where there was so many persons, unfortunately, who where there was so many persons, unfortunately, who time, when the wisdom of our institutions and the chaevinced a want of patriotism.

part with Canada, when she has refused a hundred million dollars for it. At least would it not be well, while we are serving notices on all the world of what we mean and what we intend, to pick out somebody that, in the event anticipated, will be very likely to be our antagonist?

This is a country where freedom of opinion is tolerated and statistics of these chastres, by showing what the infinite and exact state of our commercial relations with these people is, but it is very great and very vast; and I think that while we are declaring to Spain what we will not submit to in relation to Cuba, it is time to look North a little, and ask the citizens of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, "Wisconsin, and all those States—and Michigan, yes, I liked to have for gotten Michigan, [laughter]—I appeal to the citizens of all those States, and ask them if it is not worth while to turn a little of that watchful vigilance that has been to turn a little of that watchful vigilance that has been to the majority helieve that allthough they do not see as we do, we may at least, if we cannot with each of their country, which exists the country where freedom of opinion is tolerated to a very great, and, as some gentlemen think, to an alarming extent. It is a country where freedom of opinion is tolerated to a very great, and, as some gentlemen think, to an alarming extent. It is a country where freedom of opinion is tolerated to a very great, and, as some gentlemen think, to an alarming extent. It is a country where freedom of opinion is tolerated to a very great, and, as some gentlemen think, to an alarming extent. It is a country where freedom of opinion is tolerated to avery great, and, as some gentlemen think, to an alarming extent. It is a country where freedom of opinion is tolerated to avery great and very vast; and is the results upon the motives of our definition of the war of 1812. Sir, I tell the to avery great and very great and very vast; and is the results upon the motives of their country to fine prophec

with charity believe that although they do not see as we do, they are yet none the less friends of their country, true, just, and patriotic.

Both the honorable Senator from Michigan and the honorable Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Butlen) referred to a remark which I made in relation to this country, saying that we would be backing out when the time for action came. I wish to say another word upon that point. Whenever an emergency does come that calls upon the people of this country to throw aside the pursuits of peace and go out and render themselves, it may be, vicing the periodic and the principles upon which our institutious are founded. Those principles upon the board to be the knights errant of the world, to go abroad overthe continents of the earth are the islands of the sea, proclaiming the gospel of our liberty, and fulminating the penalty of our sword against that is not our destiny. Our destiny is upon our own continents of the earth are the islands of the sea, proclaiming the gospel of our the circum are founded. Those principles upon to to be the knights or and the beautiful and the islands of the sea, proclaiming the gospel of our the circum are founded.

the most self-denying patriots amongst those that have made the loudest professions; but in the quiet retirement of life, in the shades of privacy, you will find hearts that have never given utterance to noisy sentiments—men who have not speculated nor acted upon that course of political events which has had so important an influence upon the destiny of their country, and therefore have not been heard to utter sentiments in regard to what was becoming and not becoming the country. You will find many the country of the Eritish authorities which will just exactly ing and not becoming the country. You will find many tion of the British authorities which will just exactly and many such men as these come forward, who will, by put you to the test. There is no need of any inquiry the eloquence of action, put to silence the declaration of about it. Great Britain has established the colony of those whose hot-headed counsels have plunged the country into what may be an unnecessary war. I think that those whose hot-headed counsels have plunged the country into what may be an unnecessary war. I think that will be the history of the patriotism of this country. I have but very little to say for myself. I do not know but when an emergency comes I may be found to be, as Falstaff said on a certain occasion, but little better than a coward. I will not say I would, but I will say this, that if such should be the case I should be an unfit representative of the people who sent me here. The little State is the people who sent me here. The little State is the honorable Senator from Michigan, and the honorable Senator from Michigan is I understand the honorable Senator from Michigan, the state which the history of the people who sent me here. The little State is the honorable Senator from Michigan, the state which the history of the people who sent me here. The little State is the honorable Senator from Michigan is the properties of the properties of the senator from the continent. She has colonized the Bay of Islands. If the declaration of President Monroe has the broad meaning which the Senator from Michigan puts to it, there is no occasion for repeating it over again. The time has come. The fact has transcribed in the continent of the Monroe has the broad meaning which the Senator from Michigan puts to it, there is no occasion for repeating it over again. The time has come. The fact has transcribed in the fact has transcribed in the senator from the continent of the Monroe doctrine, but, if I understand the honorable Senator from Michigan puts to it, there is no occasion for repeating it over again. The time has come. The fact has transcribed in the fact has transcribed in the fact has the broad meaning which the Senator from Michigan puts to it, there is no occasion for repeating it over again. The time has come. The fact has the broad meaning which the Senator from Michigan puts to it, there is no occasion for repeating it. tative of the people who sent me here. The little State if I understand the honorable Senator from Michigan, that I have the honor in part to represent for a little while longer, [laughter,] although it is not large, nor wealthy, nor great in population, is, I believe, generally admitted to have acted well its part in the great drams of the country's history. I believe that amongst the patriotic men who have maintained this country's rights in the field or vindicated them upon the floor of the Senate, those who represented the State of New Hampshire will not—at least while the Senator from Michigan, in violation of her solemn treaty obligations. Here, then, in violation of her solemn treaty obligations. Here, then, in violation of her solemn treaty obligations. Here, then, while the honorable Senator from Michigan, in violation of her solemn treaty obligations. Here, then, while longer, [laughter,] although it is not large, nor wealthy, nor great in population, is, I believe, generally professions of what is right for a free and independent nation to do, because the resolution says it will leave us "free to adopt such measures as an independent nation may justly adopt in defence of its rights and its honor." If the resolution has that meaning, the case is before you.

The time has come. If you mean what you have said, not at least while the Senator from Michigan, in violation of her solemn treaty obligations. Here, then, while longer, [laughter,] at least with longer, [laughter,] at least while the honorable Senator from Michigan, in violation of her solemn treaty obligations. Here, then, while longer, [laughter,] at least while the honorable Senator from Michigan, in violation of her solemn treaty obligations. Here, then, while longer, [laughter,] at least with longer, [laught those who represented the State of New Hampshire will not—at least while the Senator from Michigan has a place in the memory of the people—will not cause that State to be ashamed of her history. And I will tell the honorable Senator that in all the convulsions and trials of war to which the country has been subjected, I believe, of the Old Thirteen, New Hampshire is the only State whose soil was never impressed by the footsteps of the enemy; is violated, and Great Britisin, in the face of all this, has

by the practical results which are to follow from the firm and inviolable friendship ever since—why at this experiment which we are making, that the institutions under which we live are those that are most eminently insolent manner, this tone of superiority, and tell her calculated to advance the highest interests of man, and she shall not do as she pleases with her own island : subserve the great purposes of social and civilized society. While Great Britain, with whom we have crossed arms. That is it. It is by the arts of peace, by the multiplication of means of internal communication by railroads and treaty stipulations with us, and is situated in reference to

shall never be outlawed, and that we shall not be under the necessity of renewing it again; but that all nations, for all time to come, shall take notice that this is the only market in which they can dispose of their colonies, or any part of them. But I apprehend that the Senator from Michigan, for whom I entertain none but the kind-Mr. CASS, (in his seat.) I will tell you when the time

Mr. HALE. I think the time has come now. I think

[laughter;] and that, if we ever mean to say it, now is the time. I will not detain the Senate further, except to ask that, when the question shall be taken upon my amendment, we may have the yeas and nays upon it.

Mr. MASON. I wish to ask the honorable Senator from Michigan, if I correctly understand him, in alluding to the conferences held by Mr. Rush with Mr. Canning, then the British Secretary of State for Forcigu Affairs, to say that Mr. Rush was acting in pursuance of authority, or under the instructions of the President?

Mr. CASS. Unquestionably. He had his consultation with Mr. Canning after he had received the declara-tion of Mr. Monroe, and knew the whole views of the

Senator from Michigan) laid by in rust, and neglected as obsolete and forgotten; but that the principle there asserted had effected what it was intended to effect, what alone it was intended to effect; and to show that it cannot again be resuscitated by the American Government, unless the same contingency were to arise which brought

I understood the Senator from Michigan, to whose remarks I listened, as I always do, not only with pleasure but with instruction, to be impressed in some way that the doctrines thus asserted in the message of President Monroe, with reference to Spanish-American affairs, were complicated with a like movement at that time on the part of England, and that he gathered that impression from the book published by Mr. Rush, to which he referred.
The message of President Monroe was his annual communication to Congress, in December, 1823. It took a general review, of course, of all the foreign relations of his country; and in speaking of the condition of the republics, then in-dependent, upon the continent of South America, he re-viewed the existing relations between them and their parent stock ; and it was in that connexion, and in reference to Spanish America alone, that the principle adverted to was asserted. In March, 1822, Mr. Monroe, by a special message, had solemnly invoked the Congress of the United Message, had solemnly invoked the Congress of the United States to recognise the independence of certain of the South American Republics. He took the initiative in this, in advance of all the Governments of the world, and called upon Congress in the most solemn manner, declaring to them that the time had come to recognise the independence of such of those Republics as had shown them-selves equal to the new positions they had assumed. It was done. Congress, during the same session of 1822, responded to the call. The House of Representatives passed a resolution approving the recommendation, and Congress made an appropriation to meet the necessary expenses of diplomatic intercourse with them. That was the first step which was taken by any Power toward the recognition of the independence of any part of South

At that time, as we are all well aware, the Government of Old Spain—I mean the legitimate Government of Spain—was held in a sort of pupilage by the Cortes, which had prescribed a constitutional government for the King. When the act of the American Government ment, recognising the independence of the South American States, which had previously been colonies of Spain, came to them, it first opened the eyes of Spain to the fact that its American colonies were in truth dismembered. There is a very interesting history of this subject given by Mr. Rush, who, at that time, was Minister of the United States in England. I wish to refer to it first, to show that the American Government proceeded alone in every thing that it did relative to the affairs of Spanish America; and, secondly, that what the American Government then did was directed to Spanish America alone, to the exclusion of any other matter connected with our foreign relations. What is Mr. Rush's account? He says that, relations. What is Mr. Rush's account? He says that, having occasion, in August, 1823, to ask an interview with the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, (then Mr. George Canning.) after the deject of the interview had been disposed of, (one which was totally foreign to the affairs of South America.) he "transiently" asked Mr. Canning, as Mr. Rush expressed it, about the recent news from Spain. His inquiry of Mr. Canning was in these words, as stated in his book: "The proper object of it [the conference] over, I transiently asked him whether, notwithstanding the late news from Spain, we might not still hope that the Spaniards would get the better of their 'difficulties?" The question was thus transiently put upon a subject totally foreign to that which had brought them gether. Mr. Canning gave him the information, and it led to a further conversation, in the course of which Mr. Canning inquired of Mr. Rush if the proper time had not arrived, in his opinion, for the two Governments of England and the United States to make a concerted declaration upon the affairs of Spanish America? of Mr. Canning, as given by Mr. Rush, was as follows:
"Whether the United States would join England in a
concerted declaration against the intervention of the
Hely Alliance in the affairs of South America.

In tracing this subject further, I have found the Eng-lish account of this interview, given in a very interesting work published by a gentleman who. I understand, was the Secretary of Mr. Canning—Mr. Stapleton—who wrote "The Political Life of Canning." He states that—

"Towards the latter end of August, 1823, Mr. Canning sounded Mr. Ruch, the then Minister of the United States in this country, as to whether, in his opinion, the moment were not arrived when the two Governments of Great Britain and the United States might not come to some understanding with each other on the subject of the Spanish-American colonies; and whether, if they could arrive at such understanding, it would not be expedient for themselves, and beneficial for the world, that the principles of it should be clearly settled and plainly avowed.

That was the first movement which brought the afinisters of the two Powers together, and at the instance of Mr. Canning, who originated it. The latter met Mr. Canning with the declaration that he had no power, having no instructions from his Government on that subject; but that it was a matter of very great interest, and one that he knew his Government felt deeply concerned in and, waiving the proposition of Mr. Canning, he availed himself of the occasion to press upon Mr. Canning, what England so far had not done, that she should follow the example of the United States, by recognising the independence of those republics. The result was, that, after several days of informal discussion and the exchange of notes, Mr. Rush consented, though without authority from his Government, to make such a concerted declara-tion with England, provided England, as a preliminary, would recognise their independence.

In what position did England stand? In a very diffi-cult and a very delicate one. It was then well known that Spain was using every means to induce her allies